1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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The Badagas live in dread of the Kurumbas, and the Kurumba constantly comes under reference in their folk-stories. The Kurumba is the necromancer of the hills, and believed to be possessed of the power of outraging women, removing their livers, and so causing their death, while the wound heals by magic, so that no trace of the operation is left. He is supposed, too, to have the power of opening the bolts of doors by magic, and effecting an entrance into a house at night for some nefarious purpose. The Toda or Badaga requires the services of the Kurumba, when he fancies that any member of his family is possessed of the devil, or when he wants to remove the evil eye, to which he imagines that his children have been subjected. The Kurumba does his best to remove the malady by repeating various mantrams (magical formulæ). If he fails, and if any suspicion is aroused in the mind of the Toda or Badaga that he is allowing the devil to play his pranks instead of loosing his hold on the supposed victim, woe betide him. The wrath of the entire village, or even the whole tribe, is raised against the unhappy Kurumba. His hut is surrounded at night, and the entire household massacred in cold blood, and their huts set on fire. This is very cleverly carried out, and the isolated position of the Kurumba settlements allows of very little clue for identification. In 1835 no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were thus murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891 the live inmates of a single hut were murdered, and their hut burnt to ashes, because, it was said, one of them who had been treating a sick Badaga child failed to cure it. The crime was traced to some Kotas in conjunction with Badagas, but the District Judge disbelieved the evidence, and all who were charged were acquitted. Every Badaga family pays an annual

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

was the village headman. Neighbouring villages (*hatti*), though of different lineages and even of different phratries, grouped themselves together for protective purposes under the headmanship of one prominent village into what I have called communes (*ūr*).[12] Thus Ke:ti, for example, is the leading village in Ke:ti commune, which embraces fifteen other contiguous villages, most of them belonging to one maximal lineage (*kuḍumbu*). The village headman of Ke:ti is also headmen of the commune.

We shall now examine legends of how the various clans and phratries became established on the hills to clarify the history of this intermittent migration. The recently formed Christian phratry will not be considered at this point, as it is more relevant to my discussion of modern cultural change.[13] The Christians, whether Protestant or Catholic, are distributed among fourteen intermarrying clans which trace their descent from six of the Hindu phratries.

The categories in what follows are treated roughly in order of social superiority. This hierarchy is not accepted, however, by Ha:ruvas and their supporters. Since Ha:ruvas come from the Brahma sept they have recently laid claim to an origin as Brahmins and therefore see themselves as superior to Wodeas and all other Badagas. At the other extremity they consider the Kumba:ras and Be:das to rank below Toreas, since the traditional occupations of the former—potters and huntsmen—could place them below Torea servants in the caste ideology of the Indian plains. The great majority of Badagas, in contrast, place Wodeas at the top and Toreas at the bottom of their social hierarchy.

WODEAS

The Badaga Lingayats are generally acknowledged to have been among the later groups to arrive. The contention that they were already Lingayat at that time (Macleane, 1893, 64) provides a meagre clue to the date of their migration, for their sect was founded in the mid-twelfth century and this constitutes a *terminus post quem*. Within sixty years of the founder's death (traditionally A.D. 1168) this egalitarian Hindu faith had spread throughout the Kannada-speaking region. It became the state religion when King Vijaya Wodeyar came to the throne in 1399 and remained so until 1610. However a descendant of his, Raja Wodeyar (who ruled from 1578 to 1617), drove the eponymous Wodeya chieftain Udaiya Raya of Ummattu:r up into the Nilgiris and captured his

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Belli septs;
Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu) septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Angala monastery where they were *Jangama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36–37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru. Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kanakkas.[9]

Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10] but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

agriculturists like all other Badagas they once held the monopoly over literacy in the Nilgiris (Grigg, 1880, 221). Their name means 'accountant', and refers to their former position as village accountants under the Ummattu:r régime. Although the Kaṇakkas are Lingayats and today have a status equal to the Adikiris', there are some Badagas who whisper darkly that Kaṇakkas were in origin Tamilian, unlike all others. The Kaṇakka clan themselves would not own to this, for experience with Tamil Nadu officials has led most Badagas to look down upon the Tamilian.

Kaṇakkas intermarry with Adikiris, Ha:ruvas, Koṅgaru and Kaggusis and during this century some have married girls from Lingayat families of Mysore villages. A few cases of Kaṇakkas marrying Wodeas have been cited above. As Kaṇakkas and Adikiris marry much more frequently with each other than with any other clan, and as both are Lingayat groups, they are now accorded equal status by all other Badagas. The rules for Kaṇakka commensality are precisely the same as those of Adikiris.

KAGGUSIS

Among the smaller clans is the Kaggusi, numbering about two thousand. The people inhabit eight villages; they are vegetarians and Lingayats, but instead of wearing a personal *liṅga* they have one sacred *rudrakśa* bead on a string round the neck and do a daily *pu:ja* to that. Their marriages are mainly with Gaudas, though also with Kaṇakkas and occasionally Wodeas. As soon as Kaggusi men reached the plateau and married Gauda girls they left off wearing the *liṅga* and kept it in their houses, as they still do. It is noteworthy that Adikiris will not marry Kaggusis on the grounds that, as Kaṇakkas *do* marry them, the Kaggusis must be fictive brothers to the Adikiris (although the two in fact belong to different septs); yet no such argument stops the Adikiri from marrying a Ha:ruva though logic dictates that it should. An explanation lies in the higher status Adikiris accord to Ha:ruvas.

Kaggusis allow vegetarians and the meat-eating Gaudas into the inner room for a meal, but they feed the lower meat-eating phratries in the outer room. Members of other tribes may eat only on the veranda.

GAUDAS

About eighty per cent of the entire population is Gauda, so that

2: Hockings E-4,5 - (1962-1977) 1980
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> [Badaga] has no inclination to dispute; and the former, content with this privilege, willingly yields to the latter the palm of superior civilization and domestic economy; which he would think dearly bought, if at the expense of any portion of his natural liberty, or of his freedom to range, when and where he pleases, over his native mountains.

648 In 1963 an elderly Toda summarized the present situation: 'The Badagas now consider themselves superior to the Todas as they
● [186] have risen financially. The Todas do not accept the Badaga superiority. Todas are superior because they do not eat flesh, while Badagas do.' But further questioning revealed that the attitudes recorded by Harkness still pertain.

609 The nature of the status difference between the two communities is shown more precisely in their customary salutations, still sometimes performed.

> Whenever a Toda meets a Badaga *monegar* (headman) or an old Badaga with whom he is acquainted, ... the Toda stands before the Badaga, inclines his head slightly, and says *"Madtin pudia!"* (*"Madtin,* you have come.") The Badaga replies *"Buthuk! buthuk!"* ("Blessing, blessing") and rests his hand on top of the Toda's head. This greeting only takes place between Todas and the more important of the Badaga community ... The salutation is made to members of all the various castes [phratries] of the Badagas except the Torayas. It has been held to imply that the Todas regard the Badagas as their superiors, but it is doubtful ... The Todas themselves say they follow the custom because the Badagas help to support them. It seems to be a mark of respect paid by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas (Rivers, 1906, 630; compare Walker, 1965, 78).

Although Badagas have in the past been strongly motivated to maintain their links with the Todas out of economic considera-
[186] tions, these links are apparently tinged with some distrust. While the Kurumbas are viewed by all neighbouring communities as highly dangerous sorcerers, many Badagas and Kurumbas believe Todas also have some lesser skill in sorcery; and this suspicion

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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may in part explain why some Badagas have kept up the exchange relationship even when they might have preferred to drop it.[2]

> There is no doubt that the Badagas believe in the powers of the Toda sorcerers. I was told [in 1902] of several definite instances in which misfortunes were believed to have been brought ... in this way, and there is little doubt that, in one case, the supposed author of the death of a child was murdered by the Badagas.
>
> If a Badaga suspects magical influence of this kind he may consult one of the Toda diviners, showing that the Badagas believe in Toda divination as well ... (Rivers, 1906, 635; cf. Thurston, 1912, 234).

Even natural catastrophes have been attributed by Badagas to the supernatural powers of Todas.

> When any epidemic prevails among the Badagas or a murrain decimates their cattle, their first endeavour is to discover the Todas, to whose enchantments the calamity may be attributed.... [c. 1847] the whole male population of two neighbouring Toda munds [hamlets] were taken before the chief Badaga of the district and accused of having killed the cattle by means of sorcery, the Badagas threatening at the same time to withhold their usual tribute of grain unless the murrain immediately ceased. The Todas readily consented to stop their enchantments ... Shortly after, the disease abated and the simple Badagas at once viewed this as the result of their compact with the Todas (Metz, 1864, 21–22).

Metz once rescued a Toda from fifty Badagas who were on the point of hanging him for suspected sorcery, but more recently Badagas did murder a Toda sorcerer after one of their children died (B.E.M.S., 1855, no. 15, 39; Metz, 1864, 34; Francis, 1908, 144; see below, p. 201).

Badaga Products

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The above-mentioned 'tribute' of grain, or *gudu*, is well documented by the earlier writers. Finicio (1603, 727) mentions that at the start of the seventeenth century the Todas were subject and paying

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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guardian and watchman to all the constituent villages. This is a lifelong appointment which passes from father to son and involves warding off magical attacks from other Kurumbas with the watchman's own sorcery. As with Toda sorcery these 'magical attacks' were once a common way of interpreting crop failures and animal diseases as well as most human ills. A Kurumba watchman is expected to spend part of the time in his Badaga commune, where he generally lives on the veranda of the headman's house.[20] If he does not appear there very often the Badagas nevertheless believe he is magically present each night or else knows by clairvoyance what is going on in the villages; yet his visits tend to be frequent, for he is fed by the commune. The standard annual remuneration should nowadays be 3.7 litres of wheat or millet from each household.

Most Badagas still believe the Kurumba is the most effective of all South Indian sorcerers: he can kill people at a distance with a spell, can secretly remove internal organs from the living, can rape women without their knowledge, can enter a locked door and can change into an insect or any sort of mammal.[21]

Until perhaps two decades ago Badaga charges were often levelled against Kurumbas; even today the suspicion directed towards them is still strong. Formal charges of witchcraft, handled by Badaga commune councils, used to unite the Badaga community against an external threat of (or target for) aggression; and the massacres which sometimes followed such charges were clearly a tension-reducing activity for the Badagas:

> In 1836, no less than fifty-eight Kurumbas were murdered, and a smaller number in 1875 and 1882. In 1891, the inmates of a single Kurumba hut were said to have been murdered, and the hut burnt to ashes, because one of the family had been treating a sick Badaga child, and failed to cure it .... Again, in 1900, a whole family of Kurumbas was murdered, of which the head, who had a reputation as a medicine man, was believed to have brought disease and death into a Badaga village. The sympathies of the whole countryside were so strongly with the murderers that detection was made very difficult, and the persons charged were acquitted. (Thurston, 1912, 233–234, and 1909, vol. I, 86; he partly quotes from Stuart, 1901, 5; see below, p. 200).

Metz (1864, 123) also wrote on this tension:

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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> When I first commenced by missionary labors on the Neilgherries, and whilst I was considered by the natives as their great friend, my object having been then but imperfectly understood, I was repeatedly asked to rid them of the Kurumbas, that is, to get them hunted down like wild beasts and exterminated, and they would remember my name with gratitude for ever.

Badagas claim that until quite recently a Kurumba council would sometimes authorize Kurumba youths to go out for a few weeks and practise the sorcery they had learned. At such times the Kurumba watchman would warn all the Badagas he was supposedly protecting that this was going on, and that they should not leave their homes after dark or take needless risks; nor should they blame him for any deaths, as each youth was permitted by the tribal council to kill one man. Since Kurumbas could also kill each other it was believed that no young sorcerer would try his skill against members of a Badaga commune protected by a more powerful Kurumba, as the latter might well retaliate out of revenge against his fellow tribesman.

Exchange of Goods and Services

Despite the tension-fraught nature of the relationship, the Kurumba watchman is no mere predator on the paranoid fears of Badagas: he does engage in economic exchange with them, too. Kurumbas are expected to supply the communes with three kinds of basket: two types of winnow and a large flat basket to hold grain while drying. They also provide their Badaga communes with certain rare species of timber found on the jungle slopes, especially the hard *ka:rca* wood needed for pounders. In the past honey, tamarind, bees-wax and knotted nets regularly came from the Kurumbas, as also did some leaf umbrellas and sleeping mats made of split cane or reeds.

One duty a Kurumba may perform for Badagas under exceptional circumstances is to remedy illnesses that Badaga therapists have failed to cure. Certain Kurumbas become noted for their abilities to cure specific ailments, either by herbal medicine or by spells, and a Badaga sufferer may arrange for treatment by them through the Kurumba watchman (Thurston, 1912, 233; Hockings, 1979b). Fees or costly presents would have to be given for this favour.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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177 report of wife exchange between Todas and Mudugas has not been substantiated by recent investigation; see von Fürer-Haimendorf, 1954, *passim*.

000 12. Grigg, 1880, 212; compare Metz, 1864, 123, 'Rifle', 1872, 32; Stokes 1883a, 6. They were from one particular clan nicknamed 'Kurumba-cut-people'.

177 13. Francis, 1908, 272; Thurston, 1909, vol. VII, 115; Shaposhnikova, 1969, ch. 22; at present only two Badagas rent land from Todas.

177 614 14. Those of the high-status Ha:ruva and Lingayat clans eat only the milk products, not cooked food, if they visit Todas. For an instance of a Toda priest putting butter on the Badaga ceremonial spear, see Emeneau, 1971, 5, 744.

565 622 15. There is a kind of upper class among Badagas, which I call the gentry: families claiming direct descent from the founder of their village. It is from these families that the headmen usually come; see above, Diagram 6.

000 16. The fact that Badagas and anthropologists may go right up to the *ti:* enclosure while Todas stay a hundred meters away perhaps led Rivers to presume his Badaga guide for the day had a special relationship with *the paloł*.

439 17. The sanctity of milk from sacred buffaloes has been lost once it is made into clarified butter, and this can be sold; Emeneau, 1938, 104, 112.

778 18. Rivers, 1906, 103. A less reliable source claims the *paloł*'s cloth was woven by the Toreas of Jakkane:ri; near Kotagiri; see Macleane, 1893, 905.

000 19. *U:r Kuruba;* Breeks, 1873, 53–54. The common spelling *Kurumba* comes from Tamil.

● 186 20. No Kurumba is allowed in a Lingayat house, as he is believed capable of polluting it. Other phratries allow him as far as the outer room and consider him less polluting than a Kota.

000 21. Harkness, 1832, 84–85; Metz, 1864, 116–117; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86, and 1912, 232–233; 'Miles,' 1951, 71. Fifty years ago an up-to-date old lady was 'experimenting with flying'.

22. Badagas assert it would be unethical or liable to bring misfortune were Kurumbas and Kotas allowed to play music together on the same occasion.

177 621 23. Metz, 1864, 116; Thurston, however, stated this to be the *annual* tax paid by each Badaga family; see Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86–87. According to Kotas it should be 'four annas and a meal paid by each house'; Emeneau, 1946, 257.

24. Ward, 1821, lxxvi; Harkness 1832, 109; Metz, 1864, 116. Around Kotagiri each family gave their Kurumba 18 litres; compare Harkness, 1832, 135, note. Elsewhere he was thought to get about one-sixtieth of the harvest; Harkness, 1832, 57. Earlier his share was put at 15–37 litres per farmer, plus 'as many of the sheaves as he can well bear away on his shoulders'; Ward, 1821, lxxvi. The Kurumbas accepted cooked food from Badagas, uncooked food from Todas, but none from Kotas; Macleane, 1893, 222.

795 25. Though the Badagas are Shaivites there are also Vaishnavite temples in some villages, managed by Shaivite priests.

595 583 586 26. Marriage, which is rarely polygynous, involves payment of a bridewealth of a hundred rupees, refundable upon divorce; for an instance of marriage between So:lu:r and the Wainad Gaudas, see Emeneau, 1971, 611.

27. Ranga, 1934, 55–59; Noble, 1968, 174–175. This relationship was ended by Government action in 1976.

648 657 28. Moses, 1964, 10; Srinivas, 1965, 20–22; *panya* is also a section of the Yerava tribe in Coorg.

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2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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Violent opposition to almost every conversion characterized relations between Hindu Badagas and the mission from the time of the first conversion in 1858 to 1904, the last year in which some conversions 'roused a storm of persecution which could only be suppressed by the help of the police' (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69).

At about that time a story was circulating among Badagas and elsewhere in South India that just before Christmas the Christians sacrifice a human and offer the head on their altar; a Freemasons' Lodge in Wellington was said to preserve the skeletons.[14]

Personal Disorientation

There are a number of references in the Nilgiri literature to opium and intoxication. Opium had been produced and taken by the Badagas as early as 1812 at least, when there was an official reference to it (Keys, 1812, li; Macpherson, 1820, lix). But liquor was apparently unknown to them until three decades after their first contacts with the British (Marshall, 1873, 82). It was noted in 1820 (Macpherson, lix) that no intoxicant was distilled, drunkenness was unknown and opium chewed only in moderation. Though opium continued to be taken (Young, 1827, 42), locally made intoxicants were still unknown to the Badagas in 1834 (Ainslie, 1834, 36). By the time the mission was active among them, however, opium-eating was widespread (Metz, 1864, 132; Gover, 1871, 87), even though its manufacture was outlawed by the British in 1854 (Price, 1908, 224). Opium-eating was occasionally a problem in the Christian congregation and continued for long as a solace for the Hindus; it was stated to be on the increase at the turn of the century (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 59, 64; Basel Mission, 1905, 119, 129–130). Drinking was also an increasing problem at that time: in 1892 the Society of Virtuous People at Eḍapaḷḷi tried to stop the use of liquor and drugs there (B.E.M.S., 1892, no. 53, 77–78; Basel Mission, 1905, 170–172, 179). In 1905, a year of plague, some Badagas near Kotagiri decided their whole community was being ruined by drinking, and '. . . pledged themselves to their göddess Hette to give it up and to excommunicate [i.e., ostracize] everyone who transgresses this convenant' (B.E.M.S., 1905, no. 66, 68). The next year in Ke:ti Wieland noted that drinking was increasing rapidly among Badagas (B.E.M.S., 1906, no. 67, 63). The anecdotes quoted above contain a specific instance (in 2) of acute stress leading to apparent alcoholism; the Ke:ti

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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346 794 12. B.E.M.S., 1865, no. 26, 70-71; Stokes, 1882, 174; Sawday, 1884, 12-13; Francis, 1908, 130; Tignous, 1911, 116. To meet the cost four rupees were levied from each household. Prior to this time Badaga temples had been round thatched structures; compare Breeks, 1873, pl. LXXV, and B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68, plate.

000 13. There are many comparable anecdotes in the presbytery minutes and the various mission periodicals.

186 177 14. Schad, 1908, 134; Butterworth, 1923, 208. Since fresh skeletons were supposedly collected each Christmas, Badagas would only walk around in groups after dusk during November and December, for fear of European headhunters.

648 15. Breeks, 1873, 65; Grigg, 1880, 299, 411; Stokes, 1883, *passim*; Francis, 1908, 155; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 86; Tignous, 1911, 155; Belli Gowder, 1923-1941, 50. I have been told of a much more recent instance (not well substantiated, however) in which Badagas burnt down a Kurumba hamlet near Mañjakombe because of the excessive demands for food that a Kurumba watchman had been making.

000 16. *kaći*, or in one dialect *kaci*; see Burrow & Emeneau, 1961, 79 for cognates.

518 614 17. Wieland, 1900, 86. The Manihatti priests thought themselves superior as their service was done inside the temple while the Tanga:du priests remained in the outer precincts. The Tanga:du Ha:ruvas, who by then included several contractors and were distinctly wealthier than Manihatti people, held that fire-walkers should proceed in order of seniority; and in 1897 the senior-most candidate was an old man from Tanga:du. After that the festival was celebrated by the two villages on alternate years; see Francis, 1908, 340, and Jogi Gowder, no date, 3-5. In a few years the rift had widened, apparently over a marriage quarrel. A Ha:ruva from Manihatti had asked for the sister's daughter of a Gauda headman. The latter arranged her divorce, and she married the Ha:ruva. He, however had, agreed to pay six rupees worth of finger millet for the divorce but never did, precipitating a long court case and a rift between Ha:ruvas and Gaudas. About 1940 the Gaudas of Me:lu:ru successfully wrested the fire-walking ceremony from the now reunited Ha:ruvas of Manihatti, Tanga:du and two other villages, causing the latter to celebrate the festival on alternating years at two of their villages, but never more at Me:lu:ru. In effect these Gaudas refuse to acknowledge the ritual superiority of the Ha:ruvas with whom they used to intermarry, and also have won themselves legal recognition as owners of a temple which had previously employed Ha:ruva priests.

799 18. The London Missionary Society maintained a catechist there in the late nineteenth century, yet by 1891 there were only twenty-eight Christians in a population of 3574; Nicholson, 1898, 424-425.

000 19. The process of revitalization, though of concern to Max Weber (1946, 1947), was first clarified and labelled by Wallace, 1956, *passim*, and 1966, 158-163; compare Fuchs, 1965, 1-20.

871 20. Anonymous, 1887, 122. 'The increasing prosperity of the Badagas is unquestionably inclining them to seek instruction for their children'; Grigg, 1880, 426.

000 21. Fuchs, 1965, 1. He presents many examples of such movements from all over India.

[p. 212 is blank]

saying anything." The man remained quiet. Then the exorcist rubbed his hand around the plate of rice, and while staring at the woman said some spells. Next he told her to come back to her own seat, and she did. Then he again told the ghost it was past 0800 hrs. and the ghost had not yet left. It replied that it would go if it were given music, hymn-singing and a picture of Murugan. Then, on a relative's suggestion, the proceedings were postponed. That evening they held a *pu:ja* in one of the houses, with this same exorcist in charge. He gave a small religious picture to the ghost, and it went away—if indeed it was ever there!

Other Mental Disturbances

8.7. Cases of insanity are rarely observed in Badaga villages, not because of their infrequency but because the victims are usually killed off by their relatives with an over-dose of opium hidden in some food. In 1970 a madman hobbled with chains could however be seen in one village, but this was very unusual. Insanity is thought to be caused by a demoness, *Ka:teri pe:* who possesses a man, takes his food from him, will not leave him, and ultimately brings exhaustion by not letting him rest properly.

8.8. Witchcraft accusations are common in many parts of India (Epstein 1959), but among the Badagas this kind of paranoid behaviour does not occur *within* the community. Witchcraft is nonetheless present, but it is only the Kurumba and Irula sorcerers and occasional Todas (Rivers 1906: 262; Francis 1908: 144) whom Badagas accuse of it. This displacement of anxiety onto members of another tribe probably helps reduce it effectively. In one recent case a newly married man was apparently experiencing sexual frustrations with his wife: at any rate, he claimed that very often as he slept with his wife at night in a room off the veranda a Kurumba came, separated the two, and built a low brick wall in the bed between them. Such a thing could occur, it was believed, because the Kurumbas had the power to open a bolted door from the outside. The only known way to curtail a Kurumba's powers is to either knock out one of his teeth or cut off his hair (and probably burn it). Important in the containment of witchcraft is the fact that each cluster of Badaga villages appoints a Kurumba sorcerer to protect those Badagas from the sorcery of his fellow tribesmen. His concern for the welfare of his Badaga hosts is expressed symbolically by the key role he plays

262 562 614 (753) not dare to eat meat because of the superstitious belief that she would lose her eyesight" (Kari 1945: 3). From this we can see that a woman who marries into a Haruva family is expected to accept its dietary norms, whereas a Haruva girl marrying into a socially lower sib is not expected to accept its dietary norms (Tignous 1911: 117). If a Haruva girl marries into an Adikari or Kapakka family there will be no change in her diet; but she will be expected to wear the lingam if it is given her, and to behave as a Lingayat. When a Haruva marries a Lingayat girl he continues to wear his thread but she usually continues to wear the lingam (if one has already been given her).

574 614 •[186] Haruvas are willing to accept food in the inner (more sacred) room of any other Badaga sib except the Toreyas. They would not demean themselves to enter a Toreya house; and they would probably be offered food only in the outer room of a Wodeya house. Wodeyas never accept food in a Haruva house, as they believe Haruvas to be inferior; but the other Lingayat sibs both eat in the inner room of a Haruva house. Even meat-eating Adikaris, who are not Lingayats, are offered vegetarian food in a Haruva's inner room. The same holds true for visiting Kaggusis and Gaudas; people who might often have occasion to visit a Haruva household if they are related to it by marriage. Haruvas also allow Todas, Kurumbas, Irulas and Kasubas to eat in the outer (less sacred) room of the house, but Kotas are considered too polluting to pass beyond the entrance.

614 582 (162) The vegetarian Adikaris are a Lingayat sib, numbering perhaps 3500 people, who inhabit sixteen hamlets scattered across the plateau. The sib should only intermarry with Haruvas or Kapakkas; but in the past 30 years a few have married girls from Lingayat families in Mysore. Rarely will a girl from the Nilgiris go to Mysore to marry, on the other hand. There have also been a few

574 615 they will only be offered vegetarian food in the inner room. Usually it is only between two families related through a marriage that this latter situation might arise. Generally the vegetarians do not eat in non-vegetarian homes. Toreyas may be given food in the outer room of a Gauda house, but meat-eating Adikaris will eat in the inner room.

162 615 Few Badagas know of the existence of a Badaga phratry called Kumbara, so small are its numbers. The Kumbaras live in two nearby hamlets on the northern edge of the Nilgiris (Metz 1864: 60), and total only 50 households -- about 300 people. The two hamlets are two exogamous sibs, and where possible intermarry. 614 615 One of these hamlets, however, contains only ten families; so that the other hamlet (582) has to look elsewhere for most of its spouses. They do not intermarry with any other Badagas, but do arrange marriages with any of the several thousand families 615 of Kanarese Kumbaras who live in and around Mysore City. Although these latter are not Badagas the Kumbaras of the Nilgiris believe that the two groups have common ancestry. Those living in the Nilgiris nevertheless class themselves as Badagas, are recognized as such by their neighbors, and carry a distinctively Badaga culture almost identical with that of the Gaudas. Many Badagas who know of their existence believe that the Kumbaras actually are Gaudas.

172 615 Within a half-mile of one of the hamlets is a deserted fortification, said to have been constructed several centuries ago by the Raja of Ummattur, a town of southern Mysore (Francis 1908: 350). Badaga folksongs indicate that the Kumbaras came into the hills in this Raja's retinue. The traditional occupation of their caste is ceramics, and although they no longer know how to make pots there are any number of broken sherds stratified at a depth of 2-3 meters in the ramparts of the old 186 615 fortification to testify to their former industry on this spot. On the basis of this

615 presumed connection with royalty the Kumbaras claim to be the highest of all Badaga
•186 phratries; but all other Badagas (who know of them) rank them above Toreyas and below Gaudas. Some Kumbaras are vegetarian, but most are not.

615 The Bedas are another Badaga phratry living in the same locality as the
(162) Kumbaras, and also numbering about 50 families divided between two exogamous sibs. They inhabit only two hamlets, both near the old fortification of the Raja of Ummattur, and members of both sibs live in each hamlet (Metz 1864: 47-48; Francis
(582) 1908: 350, 370). The Bedas do not marry any other Badagas although, like the Kum-
(614) baras, they undeniably are considered Badagas: either they marry into the other Beda sib, or they arrange marriages with Kanarese Bedas -- who are not Badagas -- living in Mysore City or in Tiruppattur town (Salem District).

The Bedas believe that they came to the Nilgiris as hunters in the service of the afore-mentioned Raja of Ummattur: the word bēda means "hunter" (Burrow & Emeneau 1961: 382). Today they are only farmers; but until about 1950 they still supplemented their diet by hunting on the jungle slopes with the bow and arrow. They are normally meat-eaters, and -- partly because they are traditionally takers of life -- are ranked by the other Badagas as lower than Kumbaras but above Toreyas. It is interesting to note that both the Bedas and the Kumbaras, like all other non-Lingayat phratries, have their own "village Toreyas" who act as messengers for the headmen. Most Badagas know so little about the Bedas that they regard them as a community now absorbed into the Gaudas, which is in fact not the case at all.

The Toreyas are universally regarded as the lowest of the Badaga phratries; and although there are some meat-eating Adikaris who have been absorbed into their

tour of the singers, the women clean out the houses, place auspicious markings outside the doorways, and leave the doors open with a lamp burning inside until the bhajan group has passed by. Many hamlets have adopted this practice. They conclude the unlucky month by holding a big communal feast attended by the entire hamlet.

In summary, whether we consider the organization of Kārtige, Mārgaṭi, Dipāvali or Dassara, we find that the borrowed festival is not celebrated by the entire Badaga population, there is some local variation in the way in which it is celebrated, those who do celebrate the festival still show much less enthusiasm for it than for native Badaga festivals; and finally, Badagas show much less enthusiasm for these festivals than do the Tamilians and Mysoreans now living in the Nilgiris.

4) Since 1913 important developments have occurred in the Badaga Christian community. From the earliest years of the present century, according to the missionary reports, the Christian community has been recognized by the Badagas as a distinct caste inferior to Hindu Badagas but superior to Kotas, and rigid patterns for interaction between the Christians and Hindus have been formalized. During the period 1913-1947 the Hindu Badagas, like the Christians before them, became increasingly dependent on the economy and the labor market which was ultimately controlled by the British. As a result of this the former acts of violence toward Badaga Christians ceased; as many Hindu Badagas now found it desirable to maintain outwardly friendly attitudes towards the British, they could not simultaneously be openly antagonistic toward the religion of the British.

After the Christians had become a separate social group, Roman Catholic priests became active -- mainly in converting Protestant Badagas -- and thereby split the Christians into two culturally very similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic attitude not only toward the other

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).

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This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually ceased with national independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some

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indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by those words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for

(657)

which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit

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through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Badagas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.

5: Hockings B-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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together. People wear shoes to church if they wish to, while most of the priests judiciously refrain from doing so.

In another Christian village an unusual three-way factional split developed. There the converts came from three phratries, Gaudas, Bedas and Kumbaras. The dispute arose because each of these three groups claimed that it was socially superior to the other two groups of converts. In this Christian community little intermarriage occurs across the boundaries between ex-Gaudas, ex-Bedas and ex-Kumbaras. They interdine normally, but refuse to do so during festivals. They raise no objection to attending the same church services together. This particular example is one of the very few having three — rather than two — parties to the dispute. Somewhat similar factions have in the past emerged in the Roman Catholic community between ex-Hindus and ex-Protestants; and in the Protestant community, around 1918, between Wesleyans and ex-Basel Mission converts (Périe 1932: 8).

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In summary, we can see that factional divisions are a deep-seated element in the organization of Badaga life. Even when people are converted to Christianity or go to a distant university for tertiary education, cleavages still occur amongst them which are characterized by a rigid pattern of antagonistic interaction.